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Variety is the spice of life for most youngsters today

What is different about young people today? Do they in fact differ that much from their elder brothers and sisters? They certainly seem to think so themselves.

"Young people today are head and shoulders above their predecessors," says Klaus, a sixteen-year-old schoolboy. "When grown-ups start going on about how things used to be, I invariably think how stupid they must have been. You wouldn't have caught me doing things like that."

And Doris, aged 17, reckons: "We are entirely different from young people twenty years ago. I would hate to have been around twenty years ago in the grim post-war years when people had entirely different problems, of course." Doris is a trainee white collar worker.

These two youngsters stand for many who make no bones about their rejection of traditional patterns of thought and hand-me-down modes of behaviour and conduct.

They are quoted in *Jugendreport*, a survey of attitudes among young people conducted by the Youth Research Institute, Munich, edited by Dr. Hermann Sand and Kurt H. Lanz and published by Adolf Bonz Verlag, Stuttgart, at 19.80 Deutschmarks.

The 220-page Youth Report summarises the conclusions of a number of surveys conducted among today's youngsters. Its compilers stated aim is to supply new information about the younger generation and to help to contribute towards a better understanding of young people.

The report was commissioned both by government agencies and by private enterprise.

The Munich pollsters conducted their surveys in one of two ways. They held group discussions with six or eight youngsters in one age group. They also held in-depth interviews with individual youngsters.

In all, more than 1,500 interviews were conducted with fourteen- to 29-year-olds by random sample in each and every Bonn Bundestag constituency.

Yet the pollsters do not claim that their survey is in any way comprehensive. It may be based on random sample interviews held all over the country, but all they do claim is that it reveals basic patterns here and there.

"Not only views about young people

have changed; young people themselves are different," the Youth Report opines, but more in the manner of a breezy introduction to the subject than as a claim allegedly backed by empirical data.

On the whole young people are optimistic. Seventy-seven per cent of youngsters questioned reckoned variety was the spice of life.

As for the subjects that particularly interest young people, especially girls and young women, manufacturers of consumer goods will probably breathe a sigh of relief to learn that sex or politics no longer hold pride of place. All told, younger members of the female sex are mainly interested in fashion.

Forty-two per cent of sixteen- to 29-year-old girls and women consider the vagaries of fashion and the ups and downs of hemlines and the rag trade to be of prime importance.

The topics that come next in order of importance are education, with 35 per cent, furnishing, with thirty per cent, social issues, with 27 per cent, and politics, which commands a mere 21 per cent interest.

"I should like to have a good job and later to marry and have children," says fifteen-year-old Cordula, who still goes to school.

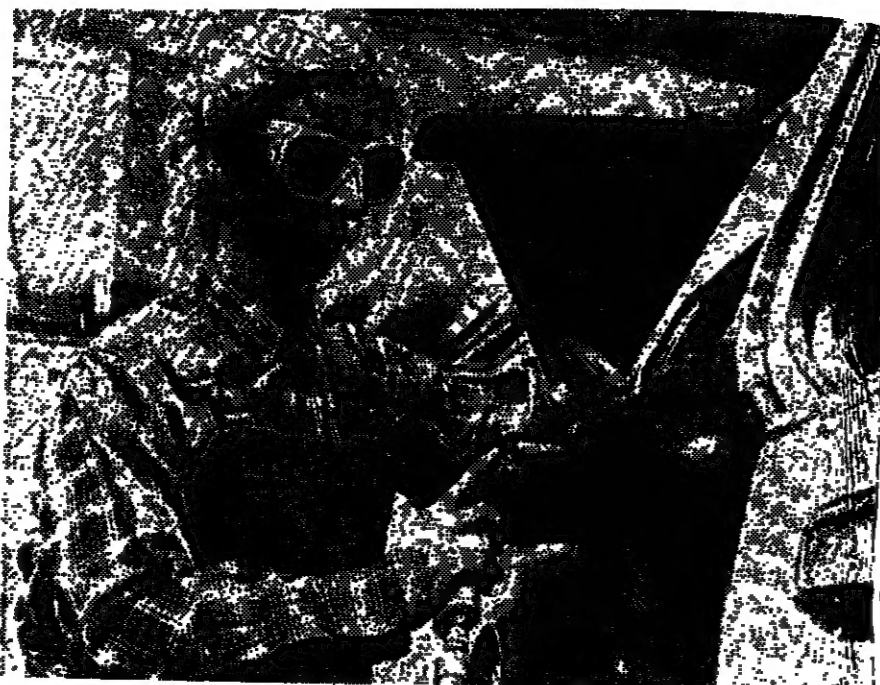
This is what most youngsters hope to get out of life: personal freedom, good money, satisfying work and a happy family life.

The revolutionary element is conspicuous by its absence, and as for the generation conflict, everyone admits that there is such a thing, but the overwhelming majority of young people reckons that the gap between the generations is not too wide to be bridged.

Ninety per cent of fourteen- to twenty-year-olds reckon bridges can be built and tend to feel sorry for their elders rather than aggressive towards them. "There is no changing them," children say of their parents with a shake of their heads, "so they will just have to stay as they are."

What this amounts to in practice is that young people, far from being rebellious, are prepared to agree with their elders for the sake of peace and quiet and in order to get on at work and keep the family reasonably happy.

This attitude certainly seems typical of today's youngsters, who while they are prepared to admit that they do not



Top of the class

Female auto mechanics are still rare birds in many countries and Petra, 17, is only the third girl in the Federal Republic of Germany successfully to complete her apprenticeship as a coachbuilder. She served two and a half years in her father's garage before taking her exams alongside 26 male apprentices — and coming top of the class. But she now plans to set her cap at further education with a view to becoming a trades college lecturer.

always agree with their parents and teachers and bosses are willing, in the final analysis, to come to terms even though they may not see eye to eye.

It seems only yesterday that young people were up in arms against elder persons. Take, for instance, the slogan: "Trust no one over thirty." So times surely have changed over the past ten or fifteen years.

Who is responsible for the change? Opinion leaders — a somewhat vague category. They can, of course, be individuals, and from all walks of life. One youngster in fourteen reckons he or she exercises influence on friends and acquaintances.

More often than not, however, opinions are led by the media. Young people are particularly avid consumers of radio, for instance. Surprisingly enough, however, they also attach a fair amount of importance to their daily paper.

Sixty-four per cent of the over-seventeens regularly read a daily newspaper.

Yet some of the assumptions on which the Youth Report is based come as more of an eye-opener about the pollsters than about young people. "Work, unlike politics, is a topic that interests young people," the survey claims, for instance.

The Munich pollsters go on to list improvements in vocational training facilities, job safeguards and shopfloor participation in management as specific

issues that interest most young people very much.

Young people are not unduly interested in topics such as the relationship between management and the unions or entrepreneurial behaviour patterns, the survey adds. These, the authors maintain, are issues too abstract for youngsters to bother worrying about.

They then go on to explain why — unwittingly, perhaps. "Who would care to say whether the younger generation is going to come off best if it is allowed to say in its elders' debates on political theory?"

The pollsters would seem to suffer from a shortfall of theory themselves at this point. They could hardly have veered wider of the mark. If job security and safeguards are not political issues what is?

If theoretical issues as outlined by the pollsters are regarded by most young people as too abstract, the reason could just possibly be that not the subject matter but the choice of words was to blame.

"Can everyone in this country make it to the job he or she wants by dint of hard work?" the youngsters were asked. Forty-five per cent said yes, 55 per cent no.

The majority of those who felt this was not the case also reckon it is high time something was done about it.

Wolf Schellner
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 July 1977)

The German Tribune

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MBFR talks have proved their worth



The twelfth round of MBFR talks in Vienna has adjourned for its summer recess. The troop cut talks have been in progress for four years now.

For over a year Nato delegations have tried to induce the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR to discuss why Western estimates of Warsaw Pact troop strength in the countries concerned differ so substantially from the figure claimed by the Kremlin.

Western sources estimate the manpower of land forces stationed in the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia to total 962,000, whereas the Soviet Union reckons the true figure is 791,000.

The Soviet figure is only marginally higher than the 805,000 men stationed in this country, Belgium and Holland — Western countries in which troop cuts are envisaged.

The West, however, reckons that the East bloc has 171,000 more troops stationed in its sector of Central Europe than Nato in its corresponding sector.

The Bonn government is known to be

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discussing with its allies the possibility of a new political move aimed at bringing the MBFR talks to an initial conclusion.

An outcome of some kind or other in Vienna is felt to be particularly desirable now that the Salt talks are unlikely to come to further fruition for some time.

Bonn has no intention of departing from agreed Nato policy, however. Chancellor Schmidt stipulated negotiations "on the basis of East-West parity,

equal security for both sides and collective defence of the West."

It is, perhaps, worth noting that Helmut Schmidt refers to parity and equal security on an East-West basis, but to the collective principle solely with regard to Nato.

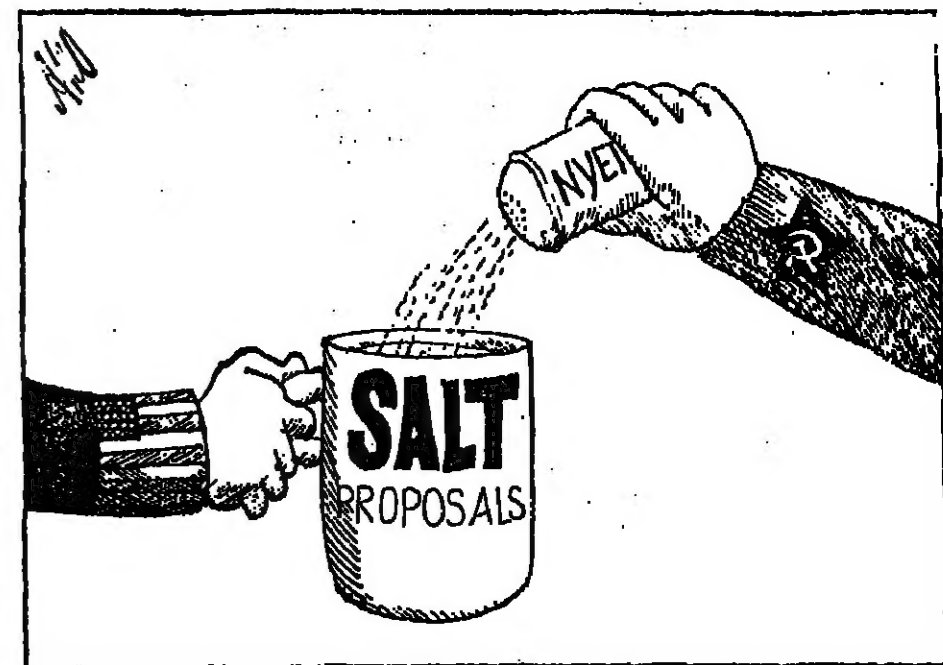
What is more, the Foreign Office is on record as stating that symbolic cuts are out of the question. So the government evidently has no intention of acting on Willy Brandt's recommendation of last winter to start with symbolic cuts as a prelude to cuts in national armed forces.

Indeed, the West is only prepared to negotiate collective ceilings to its armed forces, leaving the size of national armed forces to be decided by Nato within whatever overall limits are agreed and not on the basis of any commitment undertaken towards the Soviet Union.

Herr Schmidt is determined to ensure that the Soviet Union is not entitled by the terms of troop cut agreements to any kind of say in the minutiae of Nato arrangements.

He also refers to parity and equal security, meaning that the West's objective at the Vienna troop cut talks will continue to be a reduction of troop strengths in Central Europe in such a way as to ensure that US, Soviet and national armed forces in the countries concerned will eventually total 700,000 on each side as currently envisaged by the West.

So where parity and collective prin-



(Cartoon: Candea/Rheinische Post)

ciples are concerned, Bonn's latest proposals constitute nothing basically new.

Contrary to the impression the MBFR talks may have conveyed, conferences of this kind are more than a mere attempt to negotiate terms of reference for troop strength, firepower, training facilities and geostrategic considerations with a view to agreeing on cuts.

The principal objective is a political consideration: agreement on certain principles of security and order so as to keep the East-West conflict manageable.

Mutual renunciation of the use of force is to be underpinned by a voluntary renunciation of the wherewithal with which supremacy might be exercised. This would constitute a measure of political détente.

Thus parity is not just important in a

quantitative, military context; it also has political ramifications. It is a matter of accepting the presence and existence of the adversary and accepting, in lieu of peace, at least an armistice as a permanent condition of world affairs.

To what extent does the Soviet Union appreciate either the justification of this Western demand or the West's determination to see it accepted?

For years Russia refused to see the point, insisting on troop cuts that ensured continued Soviet predominance. Suddenly, last summer, Mr Brezhnev changed the Soviet tune.

He published East bloc figures purporting to show that troop strengths in Central Europe are virtually equal and claimed that approximate parity was already established.

May we take this to mean that the Soviet Union has at least accepted the principle of parity? This alone would be at least partial progress, although an explanation of the missing 170,000 men is still not forthcoming.

Have the Vienna talks been worthwhile from the West's point of view? Are they worth continuing? The answer to these questions is not necessarily to be found in Vienna.

The MBFR talks have certainly proved useful to Nato, putting paid to what, only a few years ago, was the imminent risk of "unilateral" troop cuts by Nato countries.

US Congressional opinion is no longer hell-bent on pulling US troops out of Europe, and public opinion in other European countries is no longer as insistent on troop cuts as it once was.

It is the Vienna talks were to have accomplished no more than to forestall the unilateral withdrawal of a single brigade the diplomats' expenses would have been money well spent.

Whether or not the final outcome is greater security for both sides remains to be seen, but if it does so it will have been by means of insistence on both parity and the collective principle.

Günther Gilleßen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 July 1977)

Friderichs: Closer ties with Japan

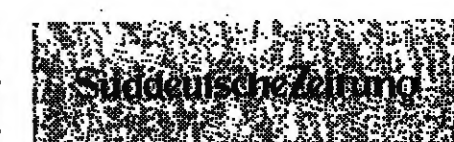
Bonn and Tokyo plan to intensify and institutionalise their economic policy ties, Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs announced in Frankfurt on his return from a two-week tour of Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Regular meetings will, he stated, be held at senior civil servant level. Herr Friderichs was particularly gratified to be able to report this progress because, as he noted, ties with Japan are "slightly underdeveloped" in comparison with the close links within the European Community and with the United States.

Referring to Japan's periodic tendency to be somewhat aggressive in its export policies and to the subsequent inclination on the part of European countries to ward off Japanese exports by resorting to protectionist measures, Herr Friderichs reckoned he had succeeded in impressing on his Japanese hosts that they share responsibility for the free world trade they advocate and ought not to upset the boat and provide others with an opportunity of resorting to protectionism.

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panese government is willing to step up imports and called on firms in this country to pay greater attention to the Japanese market. Household equipment and high-grade furniture ought, he noted, to sell well in Japan.

The Minister expressed satisfaction with the course of his energy talks in Australia, which is an interesting prospective partner for this country in view of its proven deposits of uranium ore.

He reckoned to have outlined clearly this country's viewpoint and to be "not dissatisfied" with the outcome.

He did not mention a direct link between uranium supplies and Australia's talks with the EEC, which are due to begin in October, Australia, Herr Friderichs noted, is keen to improve its access to the Common Market, and this issue is regarded as a major one there.

Herr Friderichs stressed that the Ja-

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 August 1977)

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Enlargement of the Common Market will impose economic strains

For months Spain has been expected to apply for Common Market membership, yet now it has finally done so the news still comes as something of a surprise.

The element of surprise may, of course, have been no more than that Spain's EEC membership bid was not anticipated before autumn or even towards the end of the year.

But the response certainly sheds light on the view of membership applications taken by Common Market officials in Brussels.

Officially the EEC is all smiles, cordially welcoming would-be members; beneath the surface, and concealed only with difficulty, the prevailing sentiment is one of scepticism.

The Spanish Cabinet decided on 26 July to submit its formal entry bid, increasing to three the number of EEC membership applications that are currently in the pipeline.

Portugal applied last spring to join the European Community, while Greece, which was first off the mark, is busy negotiating terms with the Nine.

The nine members of the existing Common Market appear to have mixed feelings about the prospective enlargement of the EEC.

Politicians from Common Market countries who visit Madrid, Lisbon or Athens are quick to assure their hosts that they are all in favour of accession. Indeed, they even convey the impression of being overjoyed at the very prospect.

Back home such statements are couched in substantially more cautious language, while individual Cabinet Ministers would no longer deny for a moment that they have the gravest misgivings.

There can be no mistaking the EEC's dilemma. Spain, Greece and Portugal, having parted company with dictatorial regimes, are progressing towards democracy.

The Common Market, although still primarily an economic community, is increasingly trying to step up political cooperation and thus coming to take political shape.

Would-be new members all have a twofold objective. They hope that EEC membership will contribute towards political stability at home while proving economically advantageous at the same time.

The snag is, however, that all three countries, albeit to a varied extent, are not yet economically in a position to join the EEC as it now stands.

Yet for political reasons the major Common Market countries repeatedly declared their readiness to support the would-be newcomers once they had restored democracy, and they can hardly renege on these undertakings now.

Besides, the Common Market is not an exclusive club. Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome stipulates that any European country is entitled to apply for membership.

So it is no longer a matter of whether Spain, Greece and Portugal may join the EEC, but of how they may best do so, given the misgivings that have already been aired.

There is, for instance, anxiety lest the

Community be watered down even further. Smaller members of the existing Nine anticipate even greater complications when not nine, but twelve Ministers, are expected to reach a consensus.

With agreement already limited to the lowest common denominator, further dilution would seem more than likely, so the Benelux countries are calling for the introduction of majority voting in the Council of Ministers prior to any further expansion of the EEC.

Majority voting, however, is an unlikely prospect as yet. None of the leading Common Market countries have the slightest inclination to allow themselves to be outvoted in the EEC.

Britain and France have always made great play with their sovereignty, yet not even Bonn is prepared to forfeit sovereignty to this extent, much though this country may convey the impression that it might be willing to do so.

Bonn has financial reasons for taking good care to ensure that there is no departure from the principle of unanimity on EEC decisions.

Were this country to agree to majority voting it would no doubt before long be required to shoulder inordinate financial burdens, since the others would have no

difficulty in agreeing on how to spend Bonn's money.

So it is valid to argue that enlargement of the Common Market would entail further dilution. Three new members with interests of their own would not only render further progress towards integration substantially more difficult; they would also hold up even fairly straightforward decisions.

A solution to this dilemma which is regularly mooted is that a distinction be made between vital issues and those of less pressing significance. In other words, unanimous decisions would no longer be required on minor issues.

But minor issues are not the problem, so this is hardly the answer, and institutional reforms seem destined to remain on the agenda as long as the current membership bids are in the pipeline.

The economic repercussions are a no less serious handicap. Of the three would-be new members of the EEC Spain has made the greatest progress in industrial development, but agriculture still accounts for an inordinately large slice of the Spanish economy.

As for Greece and Portugal, both are really developing countries that hardly belong to the club of industrialised

nations the current EEC may be said to constitute.

In the industrial sector none of the three will be able to withstand competition from the big boys, so hard times lie in store.

At present their home industries enjoy the protection afforded by tariff barriers, but these barriers will gradually be abolished once Spain, Greece and Portugal join the Common Market.

Between Common Market countries there are no tariff barriers on industrial goods, but where the would-be new boys hope to gain is via unrestricted access to the common agricultural market.

This is a prospect which officials both in Brussels and in the various Common Market capitals view with anything but pleasurable anticipation.

Citrus fruits and wine are the principal exports of the would-be newcomers the EEC. Both are grown in France and Italy too, but at far greater expense.

Spain, for instance, can undercut France and Italy by forty per cent on average, so Paris and Rome are determined to make the admission of Spain, Greece and Portugal dependent on a thorough review of Common Agricultural Policy.

What they want is a more active Mediterranean policy; in other words, measures designed to render farmers in Southern Italy and the south of France more competitive.

Subsidies will thus be required, with the Mediterranean countries arguing the seventy per cent of the EEC's agricultural fund is ploughed into "northern" as

Continued on page 5

West gets a peep at Soviet military manoeuvres

Karelia in June 1976 and observers from five neighbouring countries invited to attend. They just happened to coincide with a visit to Finland by Bonn President Walter Scheel, who as Foreign Minister had played a leading role in fostering détente and paving the way for the CSCE.

The Soviet Union was able to kill two birds with one stone, demonstrating to Presidents Kekkonen and Scheel how seriously Moscow takes the recommendations embodied in the Helsinki accords and also reminding the Finns that the overwhelming Soviet military presence is but a stone's throw away.

This leaves only the first post-Helsinki Soviet announcement of intent to hold manoeuvres, which was made in respect of manoeuvres in the Caucasus in spring 1976 and entailed invitations to five neighbouring States to send observers.

These manoeuvres were probably announced beforehand because NATO had already given notice to hold several manoeuvres and the Soviet Union had no intention of allowing NATO to argue that the Warsaw Pact, which had yet to follow suit, was dragging its feet on "confidence-inspiring measures".

It had taken the East bloc more than two years at Helsinki to agree to advance notice of manoeuvres in the first place.

The West originally called for notification sixty days in advance of manoeuvres involving divisional strength or more. The Soviet Union was only prepared to give five or six days' notice of manoeuvres involving a corps or more.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Nuclear reactor case may go to Supreme Court

Administrative court judges in Münster are considering suspending further hearings over the construction of a fast breeder nuclear reactor in Kalkar on the lower Rhine, and handing the case over to the Federal Supreme Court. Their reason: the decision to build a nuclear power station was taken by the Executive "only" and not by Parliament. The judges doubt whether the decision is compatible with the Basic Law. They will make their decision on 18 August.

A letter from the Administrative Court in Münster could make Parliamentary history. The people's representatives have always tried to control and watch over the government's actions, or at least that is their theoretical function.

It now looks as if the Federal Constitutional Court is going to force the federal and the state parliaments to start exerting the influence which they seem to have lost over the past few years.

Whether they like it or not, these parliaments are going to win back part of the influence which in recent years they have apathetically ceded to governments and ministerial bureaucracies.

At first glance the judges from Münster seem to be asking a simple question: do the regulations and procedures for allowing the construction of fast breeder reactors conform to constitutional requirements?

But however it tackles its task, the Constitutional Court will hardly be able to avoid making a decision which will mean a basic shift in power between government and parliament.

It is highly unlikely that the judges of the Constitutional Court will not have to face this problem. True, the Münster judges have merely stated in a letter that they may refer the matter to the Karlsruhe court, but it would be illogical for them to abandon their intention at this stage. This is why one must read the letter from Münster very carefully.

The judges do not insist that parliament should give detailed scrutiny to every application before granting permission for an atomic power station to be built. An entire society is making the qualitative leap into a new technology which could have millennial consequences. The judges criticise the fact that this decision has so far been a purely administrative one.

The apparently strongest objection to major parliamentary participation is not based on the parliamentarian's lack of expertise in the field. It is an objection to the principle of parliamentary politics in the (post) industrial age.

Political decision-making is deciding if one wants something which, according to the experts, will have certain consequences. The experts can merely prepare the ground for a decision; they cannot make the decision themselves. It is not a purely scientific conclusion, it is an existential question.

Democratic politics depend on the principle that one can explain and make comprehensible the main criteria and the conditions which have led to a certain decision.

When experts blandly claim that they alone are capable of judging whether their findings are correct, this is dogmatic, authoritarian elitism. It also means

that their findings as such do not yet provide a basis for political decision.

Political decision-making is not arriving at expert conclusions. It is evaluating such conclusions and expressing one's opinion on them.

Whether a decision is taken by ministerial or parliamentary politicians is not primarily a question of respective degrees of competence and expertise. It is a question of the role assigned to them by the constitution.

If one looks at the political functions which, traditionally, have quite clearly been exercised by parliament, there is no doubt that decisions of principle involving new technologies are the prerogative of parliament.

The antiquated categories of the division of power in a democracy are no longer a satisfactory means of combining executive with legislative functions. Governments nowadays do not merely enact laws which parliament has passed.

Both government and parliament have other functions. Together they both have what is known as government functions in Anglo-Saxon countries, though the distribution of these functions differs.

Even here, epoch-making decisions about a technology with considerable political implications are quite clearly the prerogative of parliament, in principle at least.

One cannot complain about the proliferation of *Bürgerinitiativen* (citizens' action groups), court intervention and decision-making by powerful lobbies and the same time disenfranchising parliament politically.

But is it not the job of the parliaments themselves to recover the ground they have lost on questions of principle? Has not parliament enough opportunities of taking overall decisions which are prepared and discussed in its own committees and bodies?

The imminent constitutional judgement raises this question: should parliaments by their inaction allow functions which the constitution assigns to them to be taken from them?

The unlimited powers and empowerment laws are based on a false premise. They assume parliament is the owner of the functions the constitution has assigned to it, whereas in reality it is only an executor or trustee. In fact parliament cannot actively or passively transmit its tasks to others, cannot abandon its functions to other decision-making bodies.

Once upon a time parliaments fought to gain power and influence. If it takes the Constitutional Court to remain Parliament of its function and duty, then this throws an interesting light on the state of parliamentary politics in this country.

Robert Leich

(Städteutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1977)

FDP wants plebiscites for controversial issues

Why the FDP should now decide to bring up the plebiscite question again is a complete mystery. The third force is a typical product of indirect representative democracy.

Its only real chance of surviving as an influential political force is within the framework of parliaments and their committees.

In a system where tactics and finesse are the order of the day, one needs a displaceable mass with which to create majorities. But in the pro and contra of plebiscites such moderate elements would certainly go to the wall.

In the final analysis the question of why its Policy Review Committee came up with the plebiscite idea right out of the blue is one which the FDP will have to work out for itself.

There is undeniably some justification for raising the question. Citizens' action groups are on the move, discontent with the parties is increasing and there is a widespread feeling that our rulers are not really aware of the people's concerns and anxieties.

But things look different when one speculates on what would have happened if we had had plebiscites in the past few years.

The educational reforms would not have been so idiotically extreme, the judiciary would have been granted the right to use far more draconian measures against terrorism, there would have been no tax reform, co-determination would have remained an academic subject, and conscientious objectors would have had a far harder time of it.

The future of atomic energy would probably look no bleaker than it does today, but inflation might be a lot worse.

In other words, taking positive and negative consequences and weighing them up against one another, we would hardly be much better off than we are today. On the other hand, such speculations do show that professional parliamentary politics do not really reflect the aspirations of the people. It follows laws which have about as much to do with the needs of the populace as Emily Post's "Etiquette" has to do with a healthy appetite.

Over the years, representative democracy has turned into a system in which everything is sewn up. Elections come and go, and the party riding high when

they come round wins. It seems arbitrary, a game of chance.

Many Members of Parliament find that there is an enormous gulf between the smooth professional system in Bonn and the simple life in their constituencies. In Bonn they use the appropriately high-powered language which they divest themselves of before going home at weekends.

The question is whether the possibility of a plebiscite is the desired panacea for these unhappy developments. The FDP only wants referenda at the supra-regional level. Citizens are to be given the opportunity to express their wishes. The legislature can then decide whether to grant them or not.

In the end this would only lead to a situation where parties would try to block unpopular measures by threatening referenda. The citizens, on the other hand, would soon tire of being a perpetual barometer of the mood of the people.

The FDP wants to introduce binding referenda at the local level. It is difficult to see how impressive majorities are going to be obtained for local and parish-pump problems. The plebiscite at this level could soon lead to preposterous situations, especially as self-interest often distorts democratic reasoning at this level.

Most important of all, it is questionable whether this would be a satisfactory means of ending the disalignment with parliament. The questions for plebiscites and referenda would be formulated by politicians. The glass bead game would become a popular sport. Opinions which could not be formulated politically would be at a disadvantage and might not be heard at all.

The plebiscite is not the solution. What might help is if parliament were more aware of the wishes of the people, if there were more feedback. Perhaps primaries for the nomination of Members of Parliament would be a step in the right direction. FDP executive Verheugen suggested this recently.

The most important move in this direction would be if the Opposition could take its chance, break out of the consensus cartel of the professional politicians and present real alternatives. This is what our discontented citizens really want.

Ludolf Herrmann

(Deutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1977)

Genscher seeks compromise within the FDP

Discussions about party programmes always spell trouble these days. Big parties such as the CDU and the SPD, even, have to look on as fists fly and people get hurt, some badly.

Parties like these are so wide-ranging that they invite this kind of in-fighting between the various wings and factions. With a small party such as the FDP, things are different. It cannot afford the luxury of major confrontations on policies and programmes. This could lead to it going out of existence. The FDP is too near the five per cent limit for comfort.

It is, therefore, understandable that party leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher has been trying hard to take some of the sting out of the programme discussion which has been going on heatedly in the past few weeks.

His letter, which accompanied the

parties, have now emerged, both going under the name of FDP. The discussion will show whether the difference between the two programmes is really as great as it appears at the moment or whether it is really only a matter of vocabulary.

Of the programme question and the coalition question were taken together, the situation could become explosive. Those in the party who want to move closer to the SPD and prolong the coalition will be in no mood for compromise. Herr Genscher will need all his tactical skill, and powers of leadership if he is to achieve the aim he has set himself to give the liberals an unmistakable programme, which would demonstrate the FDP's independence of both main parties.

Peter Hoppe

(Brücker Nachrichten) 29 July 1977

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■ EMPLOYMENT

Millions lost in evaded tax by work done 'on the side'

No-one would suspect a tax fiddle behind the following advertisement in Hamburg's classified telephone directory: "TV repairs in your home at fixed prices".

But the relevant guild and Hamburg's trade supervision authority have known about this operator for more than seven years — seven years in which the authorities and the Chamber of Trades have been bombarded with complaints from a disgruntled public.

The two men who operated this illegal business, however — a pastry chef and a semi-trained television technician — remained undaunted by fines and a decree by the authorities prohibiting further operations.

The ad in the classified directory is evidently paying off. When things got too hot in Hamburg they moved their business to a neighbouring state until there, too, the authorities latched on to them. This necessitated yet another move.

The trade association views such practices with growing resignation, and the authorities bemoan their lack of staff, which makes it virtually impossible for them to exercise control.

This state of affairs has enabled another operator in the environs of Bremerhaven to pursue his profitable business for more than ten years.

By the beginning of this year he could look back on 160 houses that were erected by him — according to cautious estimates of the local Chamber of Trade. This has brought him an estimated profit of more than DM 3 million.

His recipe is as simple as it is effective. He buys a building site and has the house designed by an approved architect who obtains the necessary planning permission from the authorities.

With this done he has no further trouble since the authorities do not check whether construction is carried out by a registered company.

Last February this entrepreneur was fined DM 20,000. But even so, it is uncertain whether he will ever have to actually fork out the money since he has appealed against the penalty.

It is obvious that one man alone cannot cope with such a flow of orders and make a profit to the tune of millions of deutschmarks.

As a result, the big operators hire other "moonlight" workers for whom — in some instances — they even pay taxes and social security contributions. But even so, their savings are enormous.

According to calculations carried out by the chambers of trade, regular companies frequently have to pay up to 60 per cent of the hourly wage bill in the form of various fringe benefits. Moreover, the legally operating tradesmen obviously have considerable overheads.

According to the Central Association of German Trade Guilds, this type of work on a grand scale has increased considerably in the past few years: What originally began as neighbourly help — and which the trade guilds not only tolerated, but even encouraged in boom periods when labour was in short supply, has now assumed new forms.

Thousands of millions of deutschmarks in the form of evaded taxes are lost to government coffers as a result of work being done "on the side".

The Central Association of German Trade Guilds, in a recently released White Paper, estimates the annual turnover of these operators at between 6,000 and 25,000 million deutschmarks.

Assuming that the higher of these two figures is correct, their turnover accounts for 10 per cent of the total turnover of our 512,000 legally operating companies in the trades sector. The loss in taxes and social security payments therefore amounts to between DM 2,500 and DM 7,000 million.

Estimates of the amount of work done "on the side", however, must be viewed with caution since neither the income tax authorities nor the trade associations have any accurate material available to them.

Even statistics of the Central Association of German Trade Guilds concerning fines imposed on illegal operators in the course of last year provide no accurate picture concerning the extent of these activities since only those who have been caught can be fined.

The courts collected only a meagre DM 1.4 million in fines during 1976 — which makes it obvious that this reflects only the tip of the iceberg.

The list of fines is topped by operators in the construction and house-decorating sectors. Illegal bricklayers alone accounted for more than DM 333,000 in fines, while plasterers and roofers each paid about DM 120,000, and painters accounted for fines totalling DM 117,000.

But the construction business is not the only domain of "moonlighters". The widespread wish of the public to get work done at cut rates secures a considerable slice of the cake to illegal

automobile mechanics, radio and TV technicians, hairdressers, printers and bakers.

From a legal point of view, untaxed work after regular working hours or on weekends falls in the category of a misdemeanor.

According to law, anybody who works without being registered with a trade association can be fined up to DM 10,000 under the Trades Act. Moreover, the law for the combatting of illegal work permits fines of up to DM 30,000.

But the lawmakers have not made it easy to fight operators working outside legality. The onus to prove "profit-seeking" and "work to a considerable extent" rests with the prosecution.

In order to defend themselves against this unwelcome competition, the chambers of trades have resorted to rather unusual means in the past few years. Thus, for instance, they employ private detectives to track down illegal operators and provide the authorities with the necessary information.

In Stade, Lower Saxony, a detective agency succeeded in tracking down some 300 such operators within the past three years.

According to the local chamber of trades, the number of houses built after working hours has diminished drastically since the sleuths fanned out.

But even so, illegal labour activity thrives — especially in rural areas. According to the guilds, some 80 to 90 per cent of private homes built in such areas are erected with unregistered labour.

The victims of such practices are in all instances legal businesses which are

Plan to broaden workers' capital building scheme

The Bonn Government is planning to improve the Capital Accumulation Act as of 1 January 1978.

It is, however, not intended to extend the DM 624 Act to DM 936 since at present only 17 per cent of the country's working population fully enjoys the benefits of this Act.

But even so, it is considered possible that subsidies will be extended in the course of the current legislative period. An announcement to this effect was made by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in his Government policy declaration of last December.

According to the Bonn Ministry of Finance, however, there are still a number of political and, above all, technical difficulties to be overcome.

It is nevertheless considered possible that the expansion of capital accumulation measures will be discussed and passed at the forthcoming coalition talks at the end of August.

Preliminary work to this end is now being carried out not only at the Bonn Finance Ministry, but also at the Labour Ministry and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. A paper on this issue was already presented by Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friderichs at the end of the last legislative period.

The new capital accumulation proposals envisage, among other things, more

participation of the workers in the nation's productive capital.

Apart from the DM 624 Act, capital accumulation measures are now also intended to include — apart from staff shares — sleeping partnerships. This would enable workers to invest savings in the form of a sleeping partnership under the terms of the third Capital Accumulation Act. This expansion is relatively unproblematic.

General share participation is also envisaged. This has hitherto only been possible in the case of wholly owned subsidiaries of a company. But in order to bring this about it would be necessary to amend the capital gains tax legislation. This legislation provides for the tax-free issue of a company's own shares, but not the transfer of other shares.

According to present regulations, the difference between the market price of a share and the preferred rate at which it is transferred to the worker is free of income tax.

This legislation could not be amended to encompass the transfer of shares of other companies, which would be of interest to those companies which do not have shares of their own available.

This would pave the way for the establishment of staff funds which would render staff participation under the DM 624 Act possible.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 28 July 1977)

deprived of orders by the illegal competition and, of course, the state and the social security funds which are deprived of taxes and contributions.

But the customers, too, frequently find that rather than saving money they have incurred extra expenses by employing legal labour, since they, too, are subject to fines.

A Hanover court recently imposed a fine of DM 15,000 on a 34-year old butcher who had two houses with nine apartments each built by illegal labour.

And yet, the butcher had not only paid taxes and social security contributions for his illegal workers, but also the contributions to the guild — a rarity in cases such as this.

As long as the danger of being caught remains small, many prospective builders of homes consider the risk well worth taking. But there is no recourse in case of shoddy workmanship.

The customer can neither ask for the amount of his bill reduced nor insist that the damage be repaired. The consequences of ineptly done work are frequently disastrous.

Wrongly installed gas pipes and wiring or badly built roofs have already caused damage to the tune of many millions of deutschmarks. In a house near Wiesbaden, for instance, a hot water heater exploded as a result of such work, injuring two people and demolishing the house. The damage is estimated at about DM 80,000.

The chambers of trades list hundreds of cases where the damage by far exceeded the saving.

Illegal work is particularly dangerous where automobiles are concerned and is responsible for numerous accidents according to the automobile mechanics' guild, do-it-yourselfers and illegal workers accounted for about 30 per cent of all automobile repairs in 1976.

No matter how one looks at it, the illegal labour market is a booming business.

High prices and long waiting times where legal services are concerned, as well as the desire to save VAT, boost the shady business in boom times. At now it is boosted by the great number of jobless.

The International Labour Organisation in Geneva estimates the number of illegal workers in the OECD countries with their total labour force of 330 million, at roughly 16 million. This corresponds to the number of unemployed in these countries.

The FDP Member of Parliament, Richard Wurf, recently estimated that some 200,000 jobs in the Federal Republic of Germany are lost to the labour market as a result of illegal work.

The Chamber of Trades in Lüneburg-Stade has figured out that six illegal workers occupy one regular job.

Last May, the Bonn Government, too, included more stringent controls and measures to combat illegal labour in its programme to provide more jobs.

But what our Government wants to prevent by more stringent controls and higher fines it also promotes by over-rising taxes and social security contributions.

According to the International Labour Organisation, the strongest motive to do extra work is the desire for an additional tax-free income.

People are prompted to employ this type of labour by the constantly rising prices of regular work. All this combined makes for a full order book for our illegal operators. Moreover, there is also the satisfaction of having outwitted the Government.

Erika Martens

(Die Zeit, 29 July 1977)

■ TERRORISM

Gaoled terrorists go on hunger strike

Former lawyer Siegfried Haag is on hunger strike. He is in prison in Cologne-Ossendorf and has been refusing to touch food since 24 June.

Haag is accused of supplying weapons and explosives for the terrorist attack on the German Embassy in Stockholm and of being the ringleader of a criminal group which robbed banks, stole cars and committed a number of other criminal offences.

Haag is not the only one on hunger strike. The members of the so-called Red Army Faction (RAF), Ali Janssen in Wed, Ronald Augstein in Hannover, Klaus Jünshke and Manfred Grashoff in Zweibrücken and Roland Mayer, who is also on remand in Cologne, are also on hunger strike.

Market strains

Continued from page 2

only sixteen per cent into "southern" produce.

The solution envisaged is already apparent. France and Italy may balk at the agricultural repercussions of the accession of Spain, Greece and Portugal to the EEC, but they also appreciate the advantages that might accrue in CAP terms.

If the EEC expands in a southerly direction France and Italy will be able to flex more muscle when it comes to reviewing farm price policies.

Since the northern members of a larger EEC will be unable to refuse even demand a larger southern group makes, Common Agricultural Policy is almost certain to end up being even more expensive than it already is.

Subsidies would be relatively minor problem, since guaranteed prices for Mediterranean produce would inevitably entail even greater expenditure on further agricultural subsidies.

Agriculture Ministers in the EEC's northern countries are appalled at the prospect of CAP proving even costlier. Common Agricultural Policy is already under continual fire for squandering the taxpayers' money.

At present farmers are comfortably subsidised from EEC funds, but sooner or later an upper limit will be reached, leaving Agriculture Ministers with no option but to redistribute the funds that are available.

If more money is spent on CAP as a whole, less is going to be available for the farmers who currently benefit within the Nine in general and among the EEC's northern members in particular.

So it is hardly surprising that Agriculture Ministers in these countries would prefer to circumvent full-scale enlargement of the Common Market in some way or other.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl has circulated among fellow-Agriculture Ministers in Brussels a confidential survey of the likely repercussions of allowing Spain, Greece and Portugal to join the Common Market.

No one, he confided at a private gathering in Brussels, was going to be able to say that he had not realised what the accession of these three countries would entail in terms of agricultural policy.

Heinz Stadtmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 July 1977)

Leading banker shot dead in his home

The murder near Frankfurt on 30 July of Jürgen Ponto, 53, the chairman of the Dresdner Bank, shows that terrorists in the Federal Republic of Germany are now seeking out their victims at shorter and shorter intervals.

While discussion was still raging in some circles over the "quiet glee" being expressed over the recent shooting of the Director of Public Prosecutions Siegfried Buback, the assassins struck again.

The circumstances under which Ponto, one of this country's leading bankers was shot dead in his home are particularly grim considering the fact that one of his killers was apparently a friend of the family.

Police and prosecutor have learned "in the field", so to speak, in their hunt after criminals. But terror allied with mental disturbance is new terrain for them. One cannot very well expect the police and justice officials to handle cases such as this completely alone. Public cooperation is required.

Obviously one cannot prevent violence by trying to suppress violent thoughts. The only question is, what direction this type of thinking takes.

For quite a while now people have been conditioned falsely into believing that there is a so-called illegal "violence" by the government, and that violent acts by the "oppressed" are legitimate.

But it should be made plain to those who evidently as yet cannot see the difference that one cannot use the ethics of resistance to a tyrant as an excuse to condone the unscrupulous activities of bands of terrorists operating in a State governed by the rule of law and where people enjoy unparalleled freedom of opinion.

Whether the intention was merely to kidnap Ponto, and his death an unforeseen consequence, the fact remains that this was a dreadful crime, and one that must alarm all.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 August 1977)

Similar concessions have been made to Haag's fellow-prisoners. Roland Mayer, for instance, is allowed to read "The Times" and the Italian "Corriere della Sera" as well as the French papers which are obviously highly thought of in RAF circles. He has also been granted permission to wear sun-glasses in his cell.

Sabine Schmitz has successfully applied for sewing things, office material, her own clothes and her own shoes. She is already serving her sentence in Stammheim with Verena Becker, but she is only allowed contact with the women in the much-coveted third section: Gudrun Ensslin, Ingrid Schubert and Ingrid Möller.

The prosecutor's list includes everything from Sabine Schmitz's special permission to receive up to ten periodicals a month down even to a Jew's harp which has been meticulously listed as a judicially granted personal comfort.

Sabine Schmitz and Verena Becker went on hunger strike in the hope of being transferred to the seventh floor of Stammheim prison.

Gunter Sonnenberg, Uwe Folkerts and Johannes Thimme have also applied for transfers to Stammheim, though without going on hunger strike, according to the prosecutor's documents.

Sonnenberg is in the prison hospital in Hohenasperg at the moment. He is allowed contact with other prisoners from time to time, he may see his parents once a week for an hour and he can also have his own television set.

The prosecutor's office must be consulted before any decisions are made by the investigating judge or the court. They have said they will not agree to any more transfers to Stammheim. Prosecutor Kurt Rebmann was categorical about this:

"The prosecutor concludes that 'prison conditions are humane and fair.' 'In granting special treatment for certain prisoners we have gone as far as we possibly can. Any further concessions are out of the question because we could not justify them to other prisoners.'"

Hans Holfeld

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 July 1977)

Life imprisonment for embassy attackers

The Düsseldorf State High court has sentenced the four surviving terrorists who attacked the German embassy in Stockholm on 24 April 1975 to life imprisonment.

The counts on which they were sentenced were: murder in two cases, taking hostages and coercion. The accused are: Lutz Manfred Tauber, a 32 year old student from Karlsruhe, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, 25, an unskilled labourer from Opladen, Bernhard Maria Rössner, 30, a repro-photographer from Munich and Hanna Elise Krabbe, 31, a student from Benthelm.

The sentence does not yet have full legal force. The defence will probably appeal to the Bundesgerichtshof (Federal Supreme Court).

The terrorists occupied the embassy for twelve hours and shot two embassy officials. An explosion just before midnight sent the embassy building up in flames and put an end to this attack by left-wing extremists of the "Baader-Meinhof successor organisation."

About fifteen people in the public gallery as well as the accused attempted to disrupt the proceedings — "Listen, Müller, we're not going to take any more of this rubbish." The court first warned them and when they continued the four accused were led away and the protestors ejected.

The presiding judge, Josef-Hermann

Müller, explained that the terrorists were originally six in number. The two others, Hausner and Wessel died as a result of injuries sustained in the explosion.

They came together in 1974 after Ulrike Meinhof, Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader had been arrested. Their intention was to continue the armed struggle against the German system of society. Their declared aim was revolution.

In the court's opinion the terrorists had planned their attack carefully. In the arrogant assumption of their complete power they had made themselves lords over the life and death of embassy officials.

The shooting of embassy officials von Mirbach and Hillegard was evidence of a terrifying coldness and ruthlessness. Judge Müller said that the accused could not claim that their acts were covered by international law.

In the first place they were not subjects of international law and secondly they were not combatants. International war law also expressly forbade the taking of hostages.

The most crucial question in this trial was who caused the explosion. The accused admitted the other charges, but denied responsibility for the explosion.

The presiding judge conceded that it had not been possible to establish what had caused the explosion. On the other hand it had become clear in the course of the proceedings that the detonation had not been caused by a third party, and certainly not by German or Swedish police.

Judge Müller said that nobody could possibly have got into the building after 3p.m. as the embassy had been surrounded by Swedish police.

There were, therefore, three possible explanations for the premature detonation of the bomb: carelessness on the accused's part, carelessness on the hostages' part, or a technical defect in the equipment. All traces and evidence which might have enabled the question to be solved had been destroyed in the fire, so that it was impossible to state with any certainty what had caused the explosion.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 July 1977)

■ EEC

Spectre of protectionism alarms Common Market chiefs

The EEC Commission in Brussels recently took a spectacular step towards a protectionist foreign trade policy. Textile imports from Spain and eight developing countries are to be drastically curtailed in the second half of this year.

The Commission saw itself "forced" to arrive at this decision — this has been confirmed by unofficial circles in Brussels — because last June Paris imposed unilateral and illegal national import barriers for the abovementioned nine countries.

The Commission lacked the courage to take a stand against this violation of the EEC Treaty. Instead, the Community absorbed some of the domestic pressure in France by imposing "communal" import restrictions.

Of course, the EEC import restrictions are less stringent than those originally imposed by France.

Based on the protection clause in Article 19 of GATT, the EEC is entitled to impose restrictions in case of an emergency. And for some time state of emergency evidently seems to exist since the Community's own 1976 textile production failed to reach the level of the previous year 1973.

A total of 3,500 textile companies were forced to shut down between 1973 and 1976, and this entailed the loss of 500,000 jobs — primarily in economically weak regions.

It is however known that Washington disapproves of the Commission's latest measure because the American Government itself is fighting with its back to the wall against protectionist trends in the United States.

Washington has a hard time preventing US court rulings by which local steel mills and other branches of industry would like to impose additional customs levies on imports from EEC countries.

The whole thing has been triggered by the Community's practice of reimbursing VAT to exporters. According to US industry this is an impermissible subsidy for exports, and US courts tend to agree on the basis of the Trade Act dating back to the last century.

The recent measure will also tarnish the Community's image in the Third World.

Since the introduction by the Nine of the General Trade Preferences for Developing Nations in 1971 (the EEC was thus the first major industrial power to do so) in order to promote industrialization in the Third World by facilitating its exports to Europe's mammoth market, the Community has been held in high esteem.

This esteem was even heightened by the Community's cooperation agreements with the Arab countries along the Mediterranean seaboard and by the Lomé Convention encompassing 44 African, Pacific and Caribbean states.

The EEC was thus prepared to throw its market wide open while at the same time gaining export orders by helping to industrialize the Third World. At that time France was one of the strongest proponents of such a policy.

But now there is a trend towards protectionism in France which — like any fad — could very well be emulated by the Community's other members.

According to M. Coyac, the president

of the French Employers' Association (CNPF), major changes in the global economy have rendered the dogma of free trade obsolete.

And although the demand for protectionism has not yet been voiced openly, there is nevertheless talk in Paris of building up defences against "wildcat imports", and some branches of industry in other EEC countries support this trend.

The French Association of Cellulose, Paper and Cardboard Industry (CEPAC) recently demanded "temporary protective measures" for Europe's paper industry both internally and externally.

The recommendation goes on to say that the Tokyo Round of GATT should strive to preserve the present high standard of free trade rather than concern itself with the further removal of trade barriers.

But whenever the other European members of the same branch of industry fail to pay sufficient heed to French wishes they resort to more stringent measures.

Jacques Ferry, the spokesman of France's steel industry, for instance, is dissatisfied with last spring's EEC Commission measures aimed at controlling prices and quotas on the EEC steel market.

As a result he quite openly threatens the Commission, saying that France has national imperatives — and that not only in the sectors of investment, growth, prices and jobs, but also in foreign trade relations. And this cannot but hit an exposed nerve of the EEC Tariff Union.

Prime Minister Raymond Barre, formerly an EEC Commissioner, issued a warning to the hothouse. He pointed out that France, as the world's fourth largest export nation, could not contemplate abolishing its policy of open borders.

This warning was issued only a few days before Paris decided to go it alone. The EEC Commission was thus forced to point out to its former member, M. Barre, that only the EEC as a whole rather than an individual member state can resort to Article 19 of GATT.

Protests were also raised by the German Textile Manufacturers' Association — not against the French protectionist tendencies as such, but because France has anticipated joint trade policy measures of the EEC, thus once more distorting internal competition structures within the Community.

France's objective are best demonstrated by the list of demands which the Gaullists in the Parliament of Europe recently presented.

These demands encompass among other things additional tariffs for im-

ports from low-wage countries in order to prevent "social dumping", automatic application of GATT's protective clause whenever imports of certain goods capture too large a share of the EEC market, certificates of origin for the Community market as well, and complete redrafting of the EEC Commission's negotiating authority at the Tokyo Round of GATT which is to reach its decisive phase in the autumn.

Moreover, the Gaullists point out that "unless swift and fundamental decisions" are made France would have to resort to national measures. The majority of the Parliament of Europe still refuses to deal with the Gaullist motion.

Under pressure from French business and the trade unions, President Giscard d'Estaing only reluctantly approved of the avowal of the seven heads of government at the London Summit in May in which they said: "We reject protectionism because it would promote unemployment, increase inflation and undermine the affluence of our peoples."

But even so, Giscard d'Estaing managed to get the following sentence included in the communiqué: "Structural changes in the world's economy must be taken into account."

At the EEC round in London at the end of June Giscard d'Estaing originally fought for a more clear departure from the free trade principle.

But all that remained in the communiqué was a passage aimed at the Gaullists, showing that he had at least tried to bring about more protectionism. The passage reads: "The Council of Europe has also dealt with the effects on the employment situation of the free trade policy of the Community as the world's largest importer and exporter."

The other EEC countries are not yet overtly prepared to follow the French trend towards protectionism. But the Brussels Commission is very well aware of the danger that would arise if Paris were to violate Community regulations more and more, frequently in order to let off steam prior to next spring's elections.

Brussels has for some time been pondering the effects of a free trade policy. As the world's largest exporter, the EEC must beware of providing, other countries — above all other industrialized nations, the free trade partners in EFTA and the United States, Canada and Japan — with a pretext for protectionist measures on their part.

As a result, the OECD has pledged annually since 1974 that it would preserve free trade — although GATT and numerous other agreements oblige it to do so anyway.

The recession is responsible for the danger of reverting to the protectionism

of the thirties, as an EEC official put it. In talks with Tokyo, the greatest competitor among the exporting industrialized nations, Washington and Brussels have been trying to confine the problem by talking Japan into voluntarily restricting its exports. This is in fact protectionism by other means.

The Multi-Fibre Textile Agreement, which is due to be renewed now within the framework of GATT, amounts to the same thing.

Essentially, EEC textile imports from the Mediterranean countries have risen so steeply because the Far Eastern and other textile-producing countries had had to put the brakes on their export expansion due to bilateral treaties with the framework of the Multi-Fibre Agreement.

France's astute EEC Trade Commissioner, Claude Cheysson, is well aware of the fact that the EEC cannot afford to create the impression in the Third World that it is closing its doors. After all, 36 per cent of the Community's exports go to developing nations — which is three times as much as the EEC sells to the United States — and the trend is still rising, argues M. Cheysson.

As a result, M. Cheysson does not want to reduce the general trade preferences for the developing nations, although he wants to shift the advantages.

In the new round of multi-fibre negotiations which have just begun, Brussels is pressing for a stop to further increases of preferences for the traditional textile exporting countries and for a increase of quotas for other developing nations.

According to M. Cheysson, the EEC should also generously participate in a financial "Marshall Plan" for the Third World. But such funds should not be used to build up additional export industries. Instead, they should promote measures that would boost the domestic markets of the countries concerned.

Many branches of industry in the EEC would thus receive a shot in the arm by additional demand from the developing nations. This would affect primarily mechanical engineering, the steel industry and many of their suppliers.

Given swift action, the impetus imparted by orders from the Third World would be the best means of alleviating protectionist trends, said M. Cheysson.

At the same time, Brussels is now trying to make better use of its own funds. Instead of pouring out money in its regional policy — and the same applies for the EEC Social Fund — programmes for structural changes are to receive priority in the future.

Where jobs in the textile and steel industry are in jeopardy, investment made in good time are to promote other branches of industry.

But all these plans will come too late if the latest protectionist measure of the Commission triggers a chain reaction.

The accusation that planning should have started earlier can be levelled at the individual EEC governments as much as it can be levelled at Brussels.

In 1974, it was hoped that the upswing would come towards the end of 1975, and in 1976 hopes were pinned on 1977. Also the faith in the recuperative market powers was too great. Unless business takes an energetic stand against those in its own ranks who call for protectionism, it will soon be faced with the end of its freedom.

But first of all it must be decided who is to stop the French. If Paris resorts to protectionist measures, in a number of other instances, Britain is likely to follow suit; and a chain reaction will be inevitable.

Erich Hauser
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1977)

■ ECONOMICS

Strong deutschmark plus weak dollar threatens Euro-exports



Parisians were reminded of the German occupation during the war when the French newspaper *Le Nouveau Journal* came up with a novelty in the form of the German-language headline "Deutsche Mark über alles". The headline was intended to pay tribute to the currency of the former arch-enemy and today's partner in the EEC of the *Gauleitung*.

In Paris the star currency cost 213 francs for 100 deutschmarks or — to put it the other way around — 100 francs cost the German only DM46.95. Never before had the French franc dropped to such a low level vis-a-vis the deutschmark.

But not only on the Continent was the deutschmark the star of the season. Michael Blumenthal, the German-descent US Secretary of the Treasury, has for some time been dissatisfied with Bonn's economic policy.

Contrary to the agreement to pursue a course of stability which the seven heads of state and government reached at the London Summit in May, Mr. Blumenthal persuaded his fellow ministers of the OECD to exert pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Holland and Switzerland to induce them to pursue a more active economic policy.

In an interview with *Handelsblatt*, Mr. Blumenthal said that "the last months have shown that some countries — and not only the Federal Republic of Germany — are lagging behind their growth targets."

On the eve of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to Jimmy Carter, Mr. Blumenthal let it be known in New York that the White House would promote an even further weakening of the dollar vis-a-vis the strong deutschmark. The already weak dollar was perfectly in keeping with the American concept.

Mr. Blumenthal and his economic strategists hoped that a cheaper dollar would make American goods more competitive on world markets — at the expense of the deutschmark.

The US Secretary of the Treasury fears that 1977 will see his country with a trade deficit of DM25,000 million, which he hopes to reduce by stepped-up exports. He reproachfully points to the fact that the suspected 12,000 million dollar deficit in the US balance of payments is matched by an equally high surplus for the German, Japanese, Dutch and Swiss.

The foreign exchange markets on both sides of the Atlantic reacted to the signal from Washington. A world-wide flight from the dollar into the deutschmark set in. The Bundesbank (the country's Central Bank) did all in its power to prevent or at least put the brakes on a further downward slide of the dollar.

But there was no stopping the fall. On 13 July, the day when Chancellor Schmidt arrived at the White House, the dollar dropped to DM2.793 in Frankfurt. And on 19 July it reached a starting low of DM2.2628 — even below the

then all-time low of DM2.2785 of 5 March 1975.

The Central Banks in Frankfurt and Zurich are seriously worried about a new flood of dollars since the influx of dollars into the Federal Republic of Germany and into Switzerland undermines the stability policy of those countries.

Moreover, the rising exchange rates of the deutschmark and the Swiss franc constitute a threat to the export business of the two countries.

In a concerted action between Frankfurt and Zurich, the two Central Banks therefore decided to reduce interest rates as a deterrent to dollar investments.

Frankfurt set the Lombard rate at 4 per cent. This means — and this is most unusual — that the Lombard rate is now half a per cent above the discount rate. The Swiss Central Bank even went so far as to reduce the discount rate to 1.5 per cent, which is the lowest level in the Western world.

Notwithstanding dollar purchases by the Bundesbank to the tune of 200 million dollars within a few days, it was unable to halt the downward trend which poses a considerable threat to German exports and this country's economy as a whole.

Since the European Snake currencies — apart from the deutschmark, the Dutch guilder, the Belgian franc and the three Scandinavian kroner — are only permitted to fluctuate by 2.25 per cent in relation to each other, the higher deutschmark value has pulled up the other Snake currencies as well.

This might be welcome to the Americans since it would help boost their business with Europe, but it creates new problems for Germany and its partner countries by making their exports more expensive.

Helmut Schmidt was well prepared for his meeting with President Carter and US Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal. He countered Mr. Blumenthal's accusations that Bonn was not doing enough for the world economy and that it was not doing justice to its responsibility as a surplus country by pointing out that the deutschmark has risen by an average of 17 per cent in the past 18 months.

In actual fact, according to Bundesbank calculations, the deutschmark value

Dietrich Zwilz
(Deutsche Zeitung, 22 July 1977)

vis-a-vis the dollar has risen by 14.6 per cent since the end of 1975, vis-a-vis the Snake currencies by 4.8 per cent and on a global scale by 18.6 per cent.

Confronted with realities, Mr. Blumenthal agreed in an impromptu discussion with Chancellor Schmidt to take this contribution on the part of Germany into account.

But the international foreign exchange markets evidently have little faith in this truce between Blumenthal and Schmidt.

Although the dollar made a slight recovery following Chancellor Schmidt's talks at the White House, considerable importance is attributed to a statement by Wilfried Guth, spokesman of Deutsche Bank, according to whom Washington is building up a new line of resistance for the dollar.

In Herr Guth's opinion, this line of resistance could be set at DM2.25 per dollar — which is lower than the official dollar rate on foreign exchange markets ever and lower than the dollar was immediately after the Washington talks.

The fact that not only the major trading nations are using monetary policy as an instrument with which to stimulate exports and the economy as a whole was recently borne out by Spain.

In order to cope with its economic problems, the Spanish Government devalued the peseta vis-a-vis the US dollar by 19.9 per cent. On the German foreign exchange markets the peseta, which is not part of the Snake and floats freely, was traded at the devalued rate of somewhat over 20 per cent.

The economic policy makers in Madrid, however, could easily forfeit the advantages of the devaluation to Spanish exports unless they introduce stringent domestic measures aimed at price stability. For a country as dependent on raw materials imports as Spain, the higher cost of imports could easily trigger new inflationary trends.

Spain as an El Dorado for German vacationers as a result of the peseta devaluation could easily prove a mirage. Although nominally (figured by prices prior to the devaluation) one deutschmark is worth DM1.34 in Spain, vacationers report a lightning reaction on the part of clever hoteliers and restaurant owners. Some hotels and restaurants are said to have raised their prices by close to 20 per cent.

The promised cheap winter vacation in the Canaries or the cheap summer vacation in Mallorca, promised to German tourists for 1978, could come to nought as the result of inflation.

Dietrich Zwilz
(Deutsche Zeitung, 22 July 1977)

Four per cent growth rate likely this year

Professor Olaf Sievert, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, considers a slight acceleration of the upswing in the second half of 1977 likely.

In an interview with *dpa* he stressed that, following a probable growth of a mere 3.5 per cent over the previous year in the first half of 1977, production is likely to increase by about 4.5 per cent in the second half of the year, "making it realistic" to anticipate an overall growth of 4 per cent for 1977 as a whole.

Although Professor Sievert, too, is disappointed about this year's economic development, there is nevertheless no spectacular departure from last year's forecast for 1977. The Council of Economic Advisers had originally anticipated a 4.5 per cent growth for 1977.

Professor Sievert called on our financial policy makers to display more courage in implementing economic booster measures.

According to him, the major problem is still the unsatisfactory investment ac-

DIE WELT

tivity on the part of business. Although business has stepped up its investments, this is not yet enough to provide an adequate shot in the arm and falls considerably short of the investment necessary to create the many jobs that will be needed in the next few years.

According to Professor Sievert the measures implemented so far by Bonn and the individual states are not enough of a stimulus for private investment.

The DM16,000 million programme for future investments will initially do little to change the present employment situation. The tax package which has meanwhile been passed is, according to Professor Sievert, a "small step towards a more growth-oriented taxation system."

Professor Sievert again called for better depreciation write-offs. In order to reduce unemployment, economic policy should strive for a 5 per cent growth target in 1978. Unfortunately, says Professor Sievert, the necessary preconditions for such a growth rate have not yet been created. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 20 July 1977)

Friedrichs calls for an expert review of the economy

the reduction of available labour, improvements in the labour exchange and increased individual incentives to take up work are considered particularly suited to cope with unemployment in the short term.

Moreover, Herr Friedrichs would also like to know the reasons for the reluctance of businesses where investments are concerned. In this connection he would like the Council to examine the question as to the extent to which the energy and environmental discussion has affected investment attitudes.

Concerning fiscal matters, the Five Wise Men have been asked to examine whether the turnover tax reform will have a positive effect on the investment attitudes of certain regional corporations. *Peter J. Velle*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 July 1977)

CRISIS SYMPTOMS

1973	1974	1975	1976	May 1977
Unemployment in EEC in per cent				
2.6	2.9	4.4	5.0	5.1
Inflation rate; increase in consumer price index over previous year				
8.2	13.0	13.4	11.0	
Balance of trade deficit (EEC as a whole vis-à-vis foreign countries in million dollars)				
4,682	20,649	4,504	19,476	
Unemployment in per cent				
USA: 1970-1974: 5.6 1975: 8.5 1976: 7.7 1977: 7.0				
Japan: 1970-1974: 1.3 1975: 1.9 1976: 2.0				

■ MOTORING

Psychological tests can help errant drivers keep their licences

German driving licences are not endorsed. Offences penalised with a fine of more than forty deutschmarks are reported to a central registry office in Flensburg where drivers are awarded black marks in accordance with the seriousness of the offence.

Eighteen penalty points in Flensburg mean an automatic driving ban regardless whether you have notched up seven black marks at a time for hit-and-run driving or being drunk in charge of a motor vehicle or, somewhat unfairly as most motorists would feel, have merely accumulated occasional black marks as a result of radar speed checks.

The "black marks" system has only been in operation in its present form for a few years and already there are hundreds of thousands of motorists on the borderline of a driving ban.

Their black marks are expunged from the registry if they manage to maintain a clean record for two uninterrupted years, but two years is a long time to remain on tenterhooks, especially if you drive for a living.

So ways and means of making the scheme a little more flexible are frequently suggested, and one of the methods already in use is a medical and psychological test to help the authorities decide whether or not an offender really deserves to forfeit his licence.

"We are not a bunch of sadists who descend on unsuspecting motorists like vultures, you know," says psychiatrist and neurologist Rudolf Gienapp, head of the TÜV Medico-Psychological Institute in Hamburg, which conducts tests of this kind.

Dr Gienapp is keen to explain how his institute works, but sensitive to the criticism not infrequently levelled by irate motorists. His customers are, of course, mostly motorists referred for a medical and psychological check after a brush or two with the law.

They may have accumulated the ominous eighteen black marks at Flensburg. Occasionally, however, they are seventeen-year-olds who apply for a driving licence early for one reason or another. If they pass the test they may be allowed to take the conventional driving test about which nothing more need be said.

Whatever the reason, people taking a test of this kind obviously feel somewhat uneasy. "We are obviously well aware of the fact," says Dr Gienapp,

"and the series of tests to which we submit people referred to us can take up to five hours, which is undeniably a fair length of time."

"But we do not aim to make mince-meat of an executioner's axe. We are merely required to submit an expert opinion. It is up to the authorities to decide what action to take."

Last year 97,310 medical and psychological reports were commissioned by licensing authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany from Dr Gienapp and his associates in Hamburg and similar institutes in other parts of the country. Roughly half this total were motorists with a traffic offence record in the Flensburg files, and 28,000 had been brought to book for drunken driving.

"When someone commits a really serious traffic offence or appears to be a persistent offender," Dr Gienapp points out, "it seems fair to assume that he or she might not be cut out for driving a motor vehicle."

"But we do not aim to make mince-meat of our customers. After all, there could have been good and valid reasons why they were driving under the influence of drink. They may have felt obliged to take to the wheel in exceptional circumstances even though they were unlikely to pass the breathalyzer test."

Qualified medical practitioners and psychologists conduct the tests. The medical test physical functions such as reflexes. They take the examinee's blood pressure in specified stress situations.

The psychologists, on the other hand, set out to determine whether or not the examinee is willing and able to behave in a suitable manner at the wheel of a motor vehicle.

"Let us assume," says Dr Gienapp, "that the examinee is a managing director. His reflexes are first-rate and his IQ is above average. Yet he may still be a menace on the roads because he invariably feels he is a cut above other road-users and drives dangerously."

"This is the kind of motorist who is personally convinced that he always has the right of way. He belongs to the category of unwilling motorists — and there are plenty of them about."

Persistent offenders cause the most trouble both at Dr Gienapp's institute in Hamburg and at other medical and psychological centres around the country (there is at least one in every state).

A distinction is made between offences committed "under the influence" and offences committed when the miscreant is stone-cold sober.

Offenders who have notched up their eighteen black marks in Flensburg by no means invariably have a record of drunken or hit-and-run driving, which can mean up to seven black marks at one fell swoop. Often enough seemingly minor offences just accumulate.

Take, for instance, the motorist who lets his engine warm up every morning by stepping on the accelerator pedal for minutes on end. Sooner or later his neighbours report him to the police for making unnecessary noise.

This is an offence that counts for more than a mere parking ticket. It means a black mark in his Flensburg file. So does opening his car door carelessly and endangering another road-user. So may a tell-tale trail of foul exhaust fumes if the offender is brought to book.

Helga Heimann, a psychologist who is deputy head of the Hamburg institute, is mainly concerned with the form questions may take.

"We used to work on the assumption that an examinee with eighteen black marks in Flensburg deserved to forfeit his licence and that we were merely required to confirm his or her unsuitability to hold a driving licence, as it were," Frau Heimann explains.

"Nowadays reports are increasingly commissioned because the authorities themselves are far from convinced that each and every motorist with eighteen points in his Flensburg file is fundamentally not cut out to drive a motor vehicle."

The psychological question and answer session is an important part of the full test. The Hamburg institute made tabloid newspaper headlines when it was reported to fail an examinee who answered in the affirmative when asked whether he or she enjoyed porn.

"Sex queries form no part of either written or verbal queries as far as we are concerned," Rudolf Gienapp claims, "except, say, in cases where the examinee is a sex offender who uses his car on the job, as it were. But this is very rarely the case."

Alcohol puts in a far more frequent appearance. A conviction for drunken driving means seven black marks. A

subsequent conviction within two years makes an automatic driving ban a virtual certainty regardless whether or not the court may decide to impose a ban.

Women drivers appear to be more careful than men. Far fewer women drivers than men have a Flensburg "record" even in relation to the respective number of male and female licence-holders.

"Women are more careful and cooperative in traffic," Dr Gienapp claims. "But when women overstep the mark they usually do so with a vengeance, not just taking the highway code into their own hands, so to speak, but also in drinking one over the eight."

The Flensburg record office employs staff of 11,050, including 250 clerks in the traffic offences department who service the files of 4.6 million motorists with a record of traffic offences.

The medical and psychological tests costs the examinee a maximum of 19 deutschmarks plus VAT. A slight fee may also be required. It costs 96 deutschmarks.

"It is not much when you consider what medical practitioners normally charge for services of this kind," says Dr Gienapp. "What is more, the charges do not cover expenses by any stretch of the imagination."

"Opinions may differ about details of the form tests take, but I do feel the test is necessary, particularly for young people who have notched up eighteen black marks and feel hard done by."

But traffic offenders account for only half the "customers" referred to Dr Gienapp and his associates year by year.

There is, for instance, the seventeen-year-old son of a haulage contractor who applies for a driving licence because his father has suddenly died.

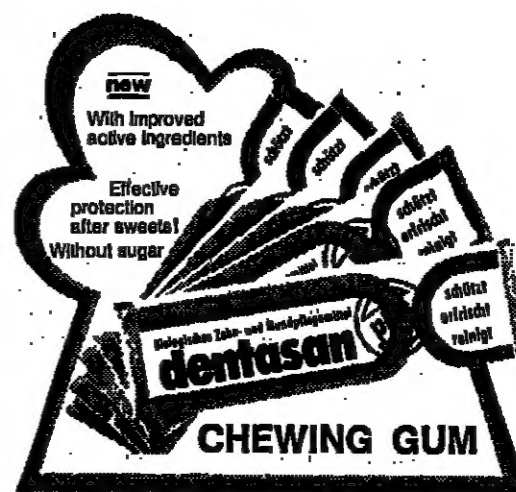
The Bundeswehr commissions reports on driving instructors, and in Hamburg taxi and bus drivers are also put through their paces at the institute. So are learner-drivers who have failed the conventional driving-test three times.

"There can be any number of reasons why learner-drivers fail to make the grade," Rudolf Gienapp says. "We try to find out why — and whether it is just their while trying for a fourth time."

The reasons can be trifling; a learner may just not be able to stand the sight of his driving instructor. The instructor may, for that matter, be a dismal teacher.

But Rudolf Gienapp refuses to be drawn on the prowess of driving instructors. "They are not referred to us," he says, "unless a special request is submitted by their association. But this has yet to happen in Hamburg, so we are not in a position to give a considered opinion on the subject."

Gerhard Seehase
(Die Zeit, 29 July 1977)



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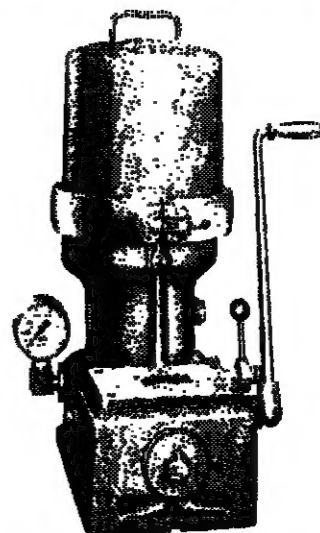
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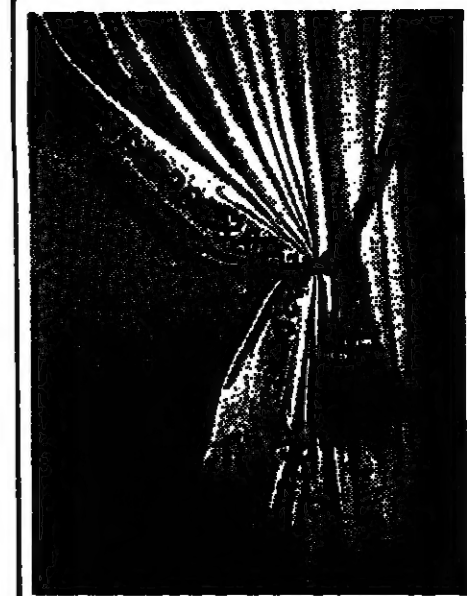


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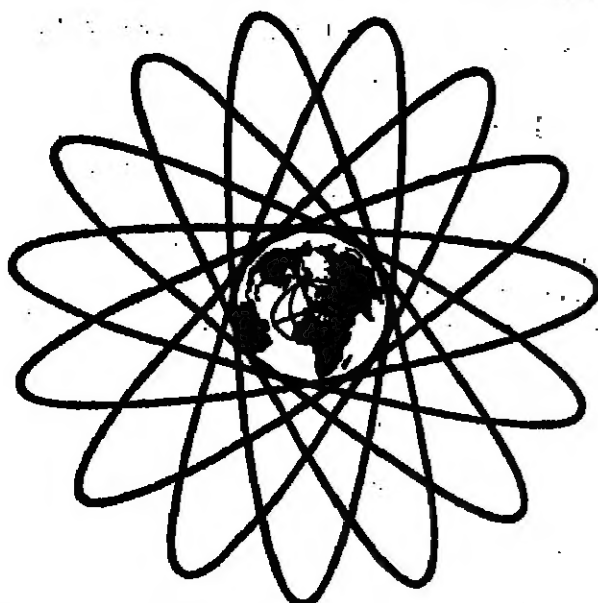
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LANGUAGE

Linguists' congress discusses problems of dialect speakers for the first time

One of the most neglected areas of German linguistics has hitherto been the study of dialect and the communications problems with which dialect speakers are confronted.

Although studies about the pronunciation of the "u" and the "o" in specific regions, which eventually provided insights into the distribution of specific sounds in any given area, are not new, they remained superficial and descriptive within the framework of a linguistic science that was an end in itself.

But new attempts aimed at a social and communicative "dialectology" which at last centre around the problems of dialect speakers in society (the dialect speaker having always served as an example of special linguistic forms) now point to a change of attitude in linguistics.

The fact that this gratifying occupation with the practical problems of dialect is still unknown territory for dialectologists was borne out by a symposium on the subject "Dialect and School" which was organised by *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (German Language Atlas), Marburg, to celebrate the society's 100th anniversary.

Scholars of the Germanic languages from the Federal Republic of Germany and the other German-speaking countries discussed the problems of dialect speakers for the first time.

The 250 or so participants (mostly teachers) who were welcomed by the director of *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, Professor Reiner Hildebrandt, had no doubt as to the fact that dialect speakers are at a disadvantage and indeed discriminated against in a society whose communications system orients itself by the standard language.

The difficulties for dialect speakers result from their regionally limited language on the one hand and from socio-psychological discrimination. In other words, certain social positions are closed to the dialect speaker.

Although in the German-speaking world standard language and dialect are related and historically linked, the sole use of dialect hampers and in some instances prevents communication.

The Bavarian's lack of understanding for, say, the Frisian is only partly due to his antipathy to all non-Bavarians. The more important reason lies in the entirely different dialects.

The multitude of dialects which still exist in this country shows that the standard language as the relevant communications instrument in society has failed to gain the upper hand — both in regional terms and in terms of social class.

But the participants in the Marburg symposium were also agreed that there was no way of circumventing the necessity of mastering the standard language.

And even the fact that dialect has been rediscovered in songs and literature as the language of protest against established society cannot change this. Social development cannot forgo a uniform language, spoken and understood by all.

The fact that socio-linguistic discussion has only now (again) arrived at this trite thesis is largely due to a disorientation phase that lasted for several years — as for instance when the educational framework guidelines for German made

the learning of a standard language oriented by the pupil's dialect the objective of teaching this subject.

At that time it was considered outright reactionary to adhere to the standard language — the reason for this being a mistaken interpretation of progressiveness.

This was a disservice to pupils — especially in view of the fact that special rules made it more difficult for them to learn how to spell due to the differences between the sounds of the colloquial and the written language which could not be reconciled in a uniform system of rules.

Heinrich Löffler, the Basle professor of German Studies and editor of the *Sprachhefte für den Deutschunterricht* (notebooks for German lessons) in which dialect and standard language are compared with each other, came up with a common denominator for the problem, saying that dialect is unsuitable for written expression.

The dialect speaker's orientation by a standard language which is influenced by dialect leads to a situation whereby the written standard language with which he is confronted everywhere remains alien to him and indeed becomes more and more so, eventually assuming the character of a foreign language.

Wolfgang Viereck, professor of English and empirical socio-linguist, explained the difficulties which confront dialect speakers when attempting to learn a genuine foreign language.

The dialect speaker's basic difference

from a child speaking standard German lies in the necessity of having to deal with three languages: the dialect as his mother tongue, the standard language as basis and the foreign language as the objective of his learning. It is obvious that such a pupil is at a disadvantage.

Moreover, dialect speakers must (virtually of necessity) fail in performance and intelligence tests at school — tests which are of paramount importance for the future career. Such tests are based on norms of the standard language which the dialect speakers cannot meet.

Joachim Hasselberg quoted an example. Pupils are asked the meaning of the verb "to simulate". Among the several possible answers they are expected to tick off "to feign" which corresponds to the verb's meaning in standard German. But the Hesse dialect speaker cannot arrive at this answer because in his home language the verb means "to reflect or ponder".

There was relative consensus among the participants in the symposium that the dialect speaker is at a disadvantage in school and society, but the linguists gathered in Marburg could not reach agreement on a basic attitude and about ways and means of achieving a cure.

Ulrich Ammon of the Dulsburg Comprehensive School, for instance, viewed dialect — polemically exaggerated — as an "arrogance of consciousness" and therefore called for its swift elimination.

Arguing along Marxist lines, he attributed the social disadvantage of the dia-

lect speaker to his language which was in turn responsible for his "lacking participation in the means of production." According to Herr Ammon, this participation cannot be achieved as long as dialect fosters a pre-industrial work and life environment.

Volker Browelett of the Lower Saxony Teachers' Training College in Oldenburg views the standard language as an instrument of repression with which the "haves" discriminate against and impose sanctions on the "have nots".

Herr Browelett's statements left open the question which linguistic norm should be applied since he did not clearly reject the Hesse framework guidelines for German, whereby so-called colloquial language is to be taught, while on the other hand saying that the objective of German lessons should be the teaching of standard German both spoken and written.

It was clear from the very beginning that the Marburg symposium would not come up with patent cures for dialect speakers among pupils.

One of the organisers of the symposium, Dr Ulrich Knoop of *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, voiced regrets about the fact that the question whether dialect should be preserved or eliminated is being raised constantly.

Instead, he maintained, the objective should be to instil mastery of the standard language in all pupils and to let the dialect-speaking child towards the standard language without impairing his personal integrity.

By delving into communicative dialectology, the Marburg symposium drew attention to an area that still leaves plenty for linguists to do — an area in which they can combine research work and social commitment.

Günther Voss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1977)

Race against time to record dying dialects

His successor, Bernard Martin, changed the emphasis to in-depth analyses of certain areas and etymology. Wenker's questionnaire had shown that phonetic differences were not the only ones. There were also important vocabulary differences — with three different words, *Pferd*, *Ross*, and *Gaul*, for "horse".

Walter Mitzka, long-serving director of the Research Institute for German Language, German Language Atlas, — this is its official name — sent out questionnaires which were rather different from those used by Wenker sixty years before. These questionnaires had 200 key words by means of which the vocabulary of all German speakers within the Reich's frontiers and in the neighbouring countries could be recorded and analysed. These 200 key words were sent to almost 50,000 teachers.

In the war years 1939 to 1943, the Marburg linguist gathered together all the material which has now been put together and revised to form an almost complete 20 volume word atlas, with 210 word maps, each one in three parts.

This work gives an overall view of the vocabulary and usage of agricultural workers and craftsmen.

Prof. Reiner Hildebrandt, director of the Institute, considers that its most important immediate task is to record and analyse dialects in "peripheral areas", especially as time is running out.

Kurt Rein from Munich is working together with German-Rumanians in the Siebenburg dialect. A German now living in Australia is preparing a word map of the Odessa area based on his own material and Wenker's sentences.

A study of the linguistic geography and linguistic sociology of German dialects in Western Hungary appeared recently.

The first volume of a "Word Atlas of German Colloquial Language" has been published in Bern. Written by a former Marburg Language Atlas man, it covers the GDR, Austria and Switzerland.

Hildebrandt is convinced that the old style of dialect research is passé. The vast movements of population after the war, the urbanisation of the countryside, as well as the influence of the media, have all tended to blur dialect frontiers which have even undermined the use of dialect.

The new method, which the Institute is using may therefore prove more fruitful. Random groups are asked whether or not they use dialect and if they do, they are then recorded on tape. This gives a picture of the function and use of dialect today.

The Language Atlas workers use the latest research methods. Computer science, linguistic information theory and dialectology are used in the five departments, each headed by a university professor.

The Marburg Institute has also taken on a very important international project of research. At the 1965 international congress of dialect experts the decision was taken to work out a joint European

Continued on page 11

EXHIBITIONS

Münster shows how sculpture can blend with the landscape

A walk around the town of Münster is of special interest at the moment. Three giant billiard stone balls vie with the Aasee for the walker's admiration. And opposite St. Peter's Church one is confronted by three giant red-streaked, wedge-shaped rocks.

At every corner of the idyllic Schlossgarten, there are bronzes, stone or metal objects, experiments with space and environment. For the space of a few months Münster has become a metropolis of contemporary sculpture.

All this at considerable expense. An exhibition has been set up in the

Archipenko's "Constructive Head" (1913) are milestones along the way from representation to pure form.

But this is purely historical. There is no sign at the Münster exhibition that the tradition of representational sculpture lives on, a form of sculpture primarily concerned with depicting objects.

Although this omission is justifiable in view of the concept behind the exhibition, it nevertheless gives a false impression, particularly when one considers the size of the exhibition and its claim to be an investigation of the function of sculpture today.

The great merit of this exhibition is unquestionably its demonstration of the relation between sculpture and environment. Architects and town planners no longer have large spaces or total complexes at their disposal, and this is partly why this relation has become problematic.

The problem was not resolved when new possibilities arose from town restoration programmes and the new conception of entire suburbs. The unfortunate concept of "building art" derives from an interpretation which completely denies the conceptual importance of sculptural aspects in the architectural context.

There are in Münster a number of highly impressive demonstrations of how landscapes or building complexes can be given more life, excitement and expression if sculpture and environment relate harmoniously. Claes Oldenburg's billiard balls for example give the Aasee and the park landscape a completely new dimension.



Israel Isaac Lipschitz's 'Sailor with Guitar' (Photos: Katalog)

Westphalian State Museum giving a survey of the development of abstract sculpture since Rodin.

A second exhibition, located mainly in the Schlossgarten, covers so-called autonomous sculpture, i.e. work conceived without a particular environment in mind. A third section, to which Claes Oldenburg's billiard balls belong, covers works which attempt to relate to a particular architectural or landscape environment.

Finally the exhibition includes a number of works purchased previously. This is probably the largest exhibition of sculpture in Germany since the war.

After walking around the various parts of the exhibition for several hours, one realises that the organisers have almost completely omitted one area: representational or graphic sculpture. Admittedly they do exhibit a Rodin torso, no doubt as a demonstration of a first step towards abstraction.

Picasso's "Woman's Head" (1909), Brancusi's "Sleeping Muse" (1910) and

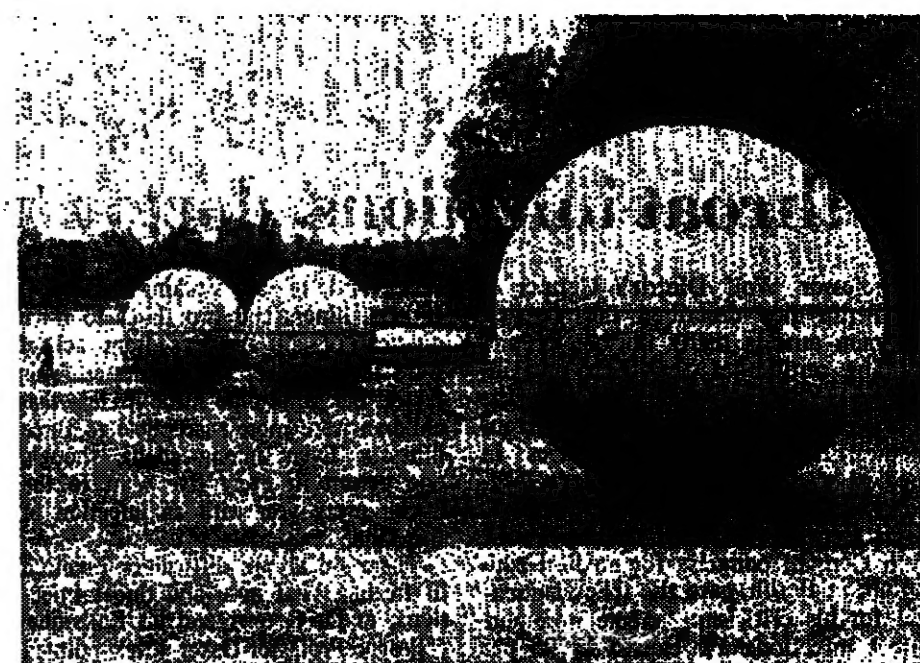
Continued from page 10

language atlas covering every country from Portugal to the Urals. Among other things, experts hope to learn from this how languages interact and overlap across national frontiers.

First the languages are to be analysed by means of 500 basic words taken from word fields such as man, the body, feelings, morals, stars, weather, countryside, everyday objects, agriculture and trade. The Language Atlas Institute is collaborating on this project with the support of the German Research Institute.

Görda Neumann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 16 July 1977)



Claes Oldenburg's 'Giant Pool Balls'

If one stands right in front of the balls, the colourful movement of the boats behind them is like a scene in miniature. In perspective, people and objects look like toys.

One gets a similar impression when one stands further back: the park, the lake and the balls merge to form a play landscape, a form independent of exigencies and functional necessities. Oldenburg's sculptures have a very powerful inspiring effect.

The non-representational "autonomous" sculpture standing in open country has quite a different effect. It relates only to itself. Mark di Suvero's "Blue Arch for Mattise", made of partly painted steel buttresses, seems rather helpless.

The same applies to Norbert Kricke's *Grosse Münster*, a thin pipe barely touching space which cannot hold its own against the architectural and natural masses surrounding it. An open-air sculpture without volume is a nonsense. Max Bill's "Unendliche Schleife", which at least operates with rudiments of

mass, is the furthest one can possibly go in this direction.

It is not so difficult for interior sculpture. Calder's mobiles or Naum Gabo's linear, net-like constructions, to name only two examples, really need the intimacy of a closed space. On the other hand it is incomprehensible that Henry Moore's work should be banished indoors. Moore of all people has always taken great pains to relate landscape and architecture to his work.

Moore's work is an encouraging illustration of the fact that the opposites of autonomous and situation-related sculpture, of representation and abstraction, of symbolic and formal art can be reconciled.

In Münster these old contrasts have been re-established. There is too much emphasis on an interpretation of art concerned with the analysis of parts of a process rather than with the whole.

Lothar Schmidt-Mühlisch

(Die Welt, 26 July 1977)

Struwwelpeter gets a museum of his own



Christian Schmidt's 'Salut für Heinrich Hoffmann' (Photo: Heinrich Hoffmann Museum)

son of the German parliament in 1848.

But above all Hoffmann was a reformer of psychiatry who viewed psychiatry for children and the young as equal in importance to a humane care for other mentally ill fellow-citizens.

He founded the forerunner of today's Frankfurt Centre of Psychiatry, where he spent 25 years, living in a therapeutic community with his charges.

He also wrote poetry and ballads. His fame, however, he owes to the fact that he was unable to find a book for children and therefore decided to write and illustrate one himself. The result was *Struwwelpeter*.

The book which modern educationalists reject as "too authoritarian" and which children throughout the world love, was first published in 1845.

But the author of *Struwwelpeter* also wrote and illustrated other books such as *König Nussknacker und der arme Reinhold* (King Nussknacker and Poor Reinhold), *Bastian der Faulpelz* (Lazybones Bastian), *Prinz Perlenfels* (Prince Perlenfels) and *Im Himmel und auf Erden* (In Heaven and on Earth).

The International Heinrich Hoffmann Society was established simultaneously with the museum. According to a press release of the museum, the aim of the Society is to "preserve the cultural heritage, organise exhibitions, new editions and workshop discussions and to realise medical and social objectives by comprehensive integration of the mentally ill."

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 July 1977)

■ MEDICINE

Antibiotics no help against nose and throat infections, doctor tells congress

Professor Wolf Dietrich Germer of Berlin has described the practice, common among many doctors, of prescribing antibiotics for colds and influenza as "dangerous." This was the course recommended in numerous medical textbooks, but advances in medical science and particularly in diagnosis meant that it was now out of date.

Dr Germer, speaking recently at the 29th German congress for medical education, in Berlin, gave the following reason for his criticism: "Acute nose and throat infections are caused in 95 per cent of all cases by viruses." Antibiotics, however, were a completely useless method of combating viruses.

When nose and throat infections were caused by viruses, it was not just a matter of antibiotics not helping. In some cases the doctor would be damaging his patient's health by prescribing them. These antibiotics could provoke allergies which in turn lead to a fatal shock-effect.

Furthermore, the use of antibiotics could lead to bacteria becoming resistant. In the event of the patient later suffering from an acute bacterial infection, these antibiotics would not have the desired therapeutic effect.

It was now possible to diagnose infections of nose and throat caused by viruses by using the so-called immunofluorescence method. Dr Germer described this as the "decisive diagnostic breakthrough of the past few years."

He called on doctors to use this method in future whenever they came across cases of coughing, hoarseness and nose-colds. This would mean sending throat smears and phlegm for analysis. Most large German towns had virus laboratories where this kind of analysis could be done.

Dr. Walter Höpken of Hannover stressed that nose and throat infections were "by far the most common infections." He thought it was an oversimplification simply to talk of "colds" in this context when what was meant was a whole range of illnesses from influenza to pneumonia and bronchitis.

Give incurables the right to die, say most people

The majority of people in this country want incurable patients to have the right to die. This is the result of a poll conducted by the Allensbach Institute for Demoscopy.

According to this poll, three out of four Germans are against doctors using every possible means at their disposal to prolong an incurably ill patient's life.

Three quarters of the population would also wish doctors to cut off oxygen to patients who have no real chance of ever regaining consciousness. There was no majority for artificially prolonging life in any age group or in any section of the population.

Seventy-seven per cent were against prolonging life at all costs. Fourteen per cent were for it, and nine per cent gave no opinion.

Fifty five per cent were for euthanasia, twenty nine per cent were against it and sixteen per cent were "undecided," *dap* (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21 July 1977)

A third of all working days lost through illness and two thirds to three quarters of all absences from school were the result of these illnesses. This fact at the same time made it clear that children were more susceptible to these illnesses. Even among adults, though, one person in every five went to the doctor every year with an infection of this kind.

There are always difficulties involved in treating viral nose and throat infections, as Dr Germer and his Karlsruhe colleague Professor Oskar Vivell pointed out. There was still no medicine which could kill all kinds of viruses.

Interferon, a substance which the body itself produces to fight viruses, had not yet lived up to the hopes which had been put in it. This was because obtaining this substance and using it on a large scale was still prohibitively expensive.

Nonetheless both doctors pointed out that there was a possibility of preventing and treating a number of viral infections. Anti-influenza injections had proved successful.

Chemical means of treating illnesses caused by herpes viruses had been developed, and other viruses could be treated immunologically, i.e., by giving blood serum from people who were immune to the viruses. All this helped to prevent the worst.

Tuberculosis, previously so rampant especially in times of hardship, was still a grave danger, as doctors found out in another series of lectures at the congress.

This is still the most common of all infectious diseases which have to be reported in Germany. This point was made by Professor Karl L. Radenbach of the Heckeshorn lung clinic in Berlin.

He also warned of the danger that this disease "could be too easily forgotten and not recognised in time, as most doctors seldom encounter a case of tuberculosis these days."

The consequence of this was, in the words of Professor Gerhard Neumann of the Stuttgart Health Office, that "wrong diagnoses happen more frequently."

He did not believe that tuberculosis could be eradicated in the foreseeable future. The reason: "The practical successes of the basically highly effective

chemo-therapy still lag far behind what is theoretically possible."

Lung x-rays have for some time been an inadequate method of discovering tuberculosis.

In the words of Dr. Hans Joachim Brandt of Berlin "this realisation means that we must intensify our search for tubercular bacteria, right from the beginning of chemo-therapy. We will also have to be more aggressive in our methods and use endoscopy and biopsy," i.e. taking live tissue from the lungs.

It could only be proved that a patient had tuberculosis after a biopsy had been performed. Even this method was frequently misleading and the only sure way of establishing this was to make tubercles grow on a patient's cell culture. Radenbach therefore warned general practitioners to be very careful when diagnosing potential T.B. cases.

If the patient were subjected to treatment on the mere suspicion that he might have tuberculosis this could have a serious effect on the patient's health in view of the nine-to-twelve-month, highly controversial antibiotic therapy.

Professor Heinrich Jungblut of Gießen mentioned allergic reactions, damage to the liver, stomach and intestinal disorders and disorders of the central nervous system of the brain as possible consequences of treatment.

Dr Hans Hussels of Berlin stressed that it was essential to establish before treatment began whether the bacteria could be killed by one of the three antibiotics normally used. It was also important to determine whether the patient was allergic to these antibiotics.

The number of antibiotics which could be used is extremely high. Nonetheless, tubercular and other bacteria were becoming more and more resistant to certain antibiotics. In other words they were not an effective means of treating these illnesses.

Although he did not want to dramatise matters among his colleagues, Professor Heinrich Herzog of Basle University felt obliged to tell his colleagues that they had a duty to their patients to watch for the early stages of chronic bronchitis and to use every means to prevent it. He made this point in the course of a clinical demonstration and television projection in the auditorium.

Cancer kills 1,650 children every year

the connective tissue) as well as to leukemia.

In the cases of tumours, the chances of a cure vacillate between 20 and 80 per cent — at the time of diagnosis it is impossible to tell whether the child will die or whether he can be saved. But the Frankfurt doctor points out that there are "no malignant illnesses which cannot be treated."

The better recovery chances of children compared to adults can be seen most graphically in the case of leukemia. Less than five per cent of older patients survive for more than eight years, whereas in the case of children the corresponding figure is 30 to 35 per cent.

In the case of acute lymphatic leukemia,

It was in his opinion often the fault of doctors that patients had to suffer from this serious and dangerous illness. He said they could decide for themselves what was worse: lung cancer or chronic bronchitis.

According to Dr Herzog the incidence of lung cancer and of chronic bronchitis is increasing. There was one case common to both — smoking. The statistical curves of both illnesses and of cigarette turnover ran parallel.

Air pollution at work and the increasing pollution of the environment by chemicals were a contributory factor to illnesses. But it was evident that cigarette smoking made the situation worse. Every second smoker over forty suffered from chronic bronchitis whereas among non-smokers in the same age-group the figure was one in six.

Chronic bronchitis was more likely to occur if the patient had frequently suffered from throat and nose infections, there was inborn immunity weakness or disorders in the composition of bronchial mucus. Defects in secretion and the natural ageing process were also factors. Five times more men get chronic bronchitis than women. The reason for this is not yet known, but it might be result of hormonal factors.

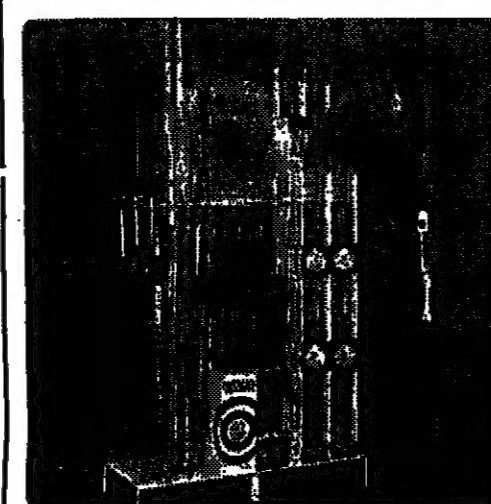
The Basle lung specialist pointed out that a patient can be said to be suffering from chronic bronchitis if he had coughing and expectoration fits daily for three months in the course of two successive years. This was the criterion established by the World Health Organisation.

Doctors encountered two kinds of chronic bronchitis — the emphysematic type gasping for breath with only slight expectoration and the cyanose type gasping and suffering from lack of oxygen, with a long history of coughing and a lot of expectoration.

This did not, however, mean any difference in treatment. Dr Herzog suggested the following method: first, the elimination of damaging influences, in particular cigarette smoking; freeing the lungs of bronchial mucus by inhalation; touching the chest with the chin, breaking exercises and the use of medicines to reduce swelling of the mucous membranes and to dissolve secretions, as well as the use of bronchial plasmas.

Bronchitis who suffered from bacterial nose and throat infections ought to have antibiotics prescribed as well. They should keep them handy and as soon as they felt an infection coming on they should take them to prevent the infection getting on to the lungs.

Dieter Dietrich
(Der Tagespiegel, 23 July 1977)



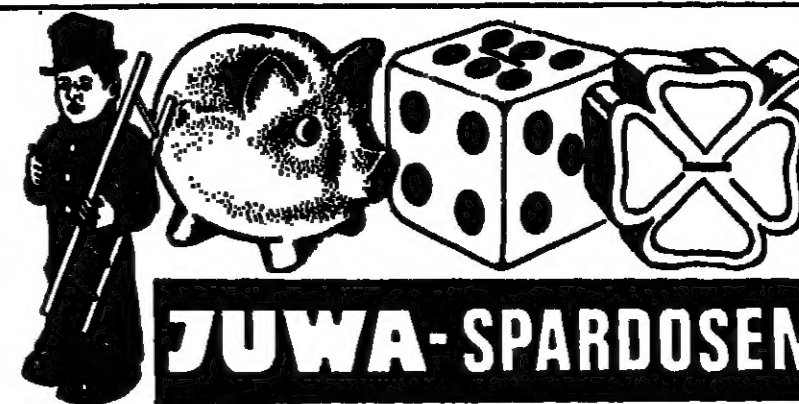
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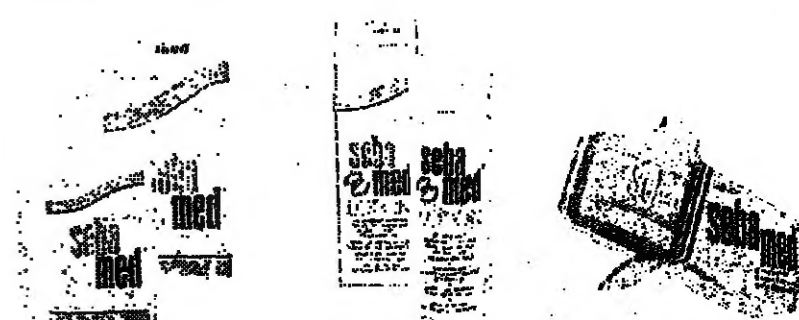


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